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/For specific instances of kin group behavior during ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 163-230./

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Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips
616 224 834 837 during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of kạ'makra log making, the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atụ'kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atụ'k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

616 529 After the last atụ'k race, which closes the meipimrạ'k season, the women of each group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

616 527 604 After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrạ'k period, the mepatạmẽwẹ'pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place. The atụ'k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted kạ'makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atụ'k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the kạ'makra men. While this is going on, each group lauds the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrạ'k season.

616 575 Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõẽwá society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

616 881 On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second initiation phase, that is, during the vụ'tẹ' season. Five weeks after the beginning of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atụ'k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atụ'k." On the other hand, those belonging to the kạ'makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the kạ'makra." On the day that terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the [302] *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

616 561 Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the kạ' and atụ'k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

616 174 171 The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently, the kạ'makra were identical with the eastern, the atụ'kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vụ'tẹ' system (p. 92) gained in importance, the kạ'makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponto with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

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616 881 and vice versa. Throughout this phase of initiation the boys always appear simultaneously, but separated into these antithetical moieties. All offices during the ceremony are dual, one incumbent representing the eastern, the other the western plaza group.

On the morning of the third day of the closing ceremony of this festival the six groups take up their positions in the plaza, and the novices are decorated with falcon down, each by the maternal uncle from whom he has obtained the names determining his plaza membership. In this ornamentation fellow members of a group aid one another and are subsequently compensated by the kinswomen of the lad they have decorated, receiving a meat pie, which is equitably divided among the group members.

The departure of the plaza groups follows a definite rule: the southernmost group of each moiety moves to join the center group, both together unite with the northern one, whereupon all three simultaneously return to the site of the center group. Thus, there are finally only two companies in the plaza, the plaza moieties, which form the teams for the immediately ensuing symbolical log race with the miniature logs of the souls of the dead (pąrare) (pl. 35, *d*).

Somewhat more varied are the functions of these units in the second phase of initiation, the pepyé festival.

Four days after the seclusion of the pepyé had begun in 1932 the čõdn group, to which the western class leader belonged, manufactured a pair of special logs, pą'rakahák. Smaller and of lighter weight than the ordinary logs, they were further distinguished by grips projecting from the center of the terminal planes in the direction of the axis. The race track was only about one kilometer in length. The opposing teams were the eastern and western plaza moieties.

Two days later the plaza groups again appeared in the plaza, then they proceeded to erect the cells for the seclusion of each novice in his maternal home. The main part of the work always devolved on the individual novice's maternal uncle, but the entire group helped. [604]

After a three months' seclusion the pepyé were subjected to an inspection. The plaza group members, so far as they were not in seclusion, took up their positions in the plaza, then suddenly dashed simultaneously with loud yells, each group to the home of a secluded member. Penetrating the enclosure of the yard, they took up positions before the rear entrance of the cell. The novice's maternal uncle stepped forward and three times uttered piercing screams, whereupon the boy called came crawling out of the little door. But hardly had he become visible than his uncle again shouted at him, thereby chasing him back indoors. Each group in turn similarly treated its secluded members, whereupon all six companies returned to the plaza, making their exit at a given signal. The seclusion was lifted two days later. [604]

The next morning the pepyé clandestinely arranged a log race among themselves with the pąrare logs of the spirits, members of the eastern and the western plaza moiety being pitted against each other.

Four days later the novices' kinswomen paid the plaza groups for erecting the cells. In front of each house of seclusion they deposited as many carrying baskets as there had been novices within the particular home. The baskets were ostentatiously topped with fruits to a height up to three times that of the containers and were tied to stages of poles to prevent their toppling over. This fee is known as põ. [431]

The baskets remained standing all night. On the following morning the eastern and the western age classes ran a symbolical race with the pąrare, and immediately

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851 upon the age class trotted toward Patkwę'i's house, humming "like humming
846 birds," and there a whole meat pie was distributed among them. Meanwhile Patkwę'i's husband had also abandoned the partitioned space of seclusion, put on his earplugs once more, and had himself painted with urucú. When the rópkama still humming as before, ran back, one of the oldest Indians came to meet them dancing, howling like a steppe fox, and bashfully slinking from one side to another. As a steppe fox always visits an abandoned camp site in search of food remnants, so the old man was looking for the residue at Patkwę'i's house.

A ceremony of such complexity, however, takes place only when the first child is born. On the same day another woman, who had already given birth to a number of children, was discharged from her retreat. All she did was to send a meat pie via her brother to the council assembled in the plaza.

851 When Kapẽrtụk's wife had been delivered of a little girl, his sister, Mĩkwę'i,
[551] took her in her arms and carried her to the aunt's matrilineal home, thereby indicating that she would transfer her names to the infant. Then Kapẽrtụk's and
846 Mĩkwę'i's maternal uncle went to hunt a deer, which he turned over to his niece. The meat she prepared was partaken of by all the inmates of the matrilineal home of Kapẽrtụk's wife, except herself and her husband. Unprepared slices of this game must not be distributed in other dwellings lest the hunter lose his luck, growing lazy and sleepy (čukaká). For the same reason he must not throw his booty on the floor when he gets home, but must deposit it with caution.

[825] After his seclusion an infant's father goes on a hunting trip in order to kill an anteater of the smaller species (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*), which is said to "rear its children like a human being" by carrying them around on its back.

852 As soon as the child has its change of hair, the furrow is cut round its head.

604 Not until the close of seclusion does the mother indulge in domestic chores, and even then only in part because during the first months she hardly lets go of her infant. In leaving the house she turns it over to her own mother or another female housemate. A little girl is likely to spend considerable time at a paternal aunt's—even if she should not be the one from whom she acquires her names. This bond between little girls and their paternal aunts often is of great intimacy, being even more striking than the corresponding tie between a boy and his maternal uncle, which manifests itself later and especially in ceremonial. This uncle certainly pays no attention to a nursling's care.

853 So long as the mother maintains continence, the child is supposed to grow apace.
856 For this reason many women abstain from marital congress for months, allowing the hair around their temples to grow, but immediately clipping it after the first postnatal cohabitation. This obligatory continence is by no means to every husband's taste, and a fantastic tale of suicide—relegated, it is true, to the days of long ago—is told. On the plea that their child was still too small a woman denied
[762] her husband access for many months. He had himself, as well as the nephew to whom he had transferred his names, decorated and took the boy into the steppe. There he pretended to hunt falcons, kindled a fire around himself and the boy, causing both to perish.

INFANCY

853 The nursing period lasts about two years. The mother gives suck as often as the child desires it, kinswomen being glad to help so far as they are able. The mother teaches her child to eat cooked food by chewing it and then placing it in the infant's mouth.

854 As soon as the child is able to sit, the mother carries it straddling her left hip

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the faveira with his bush-knife. In 1936 I was shown the spot and found the tree trunk lying on the ground in decay.

On the other hand, I know of cases in which a maternal uncle forbade his niece to marry a young lad who was obviously going to be a bad husband. In general, when marriage is in question a girl always consults her mother's brother in addition to her mother. Nyunkré, the daughter of my "sister" Pqrākwę'i, delayed her wedding for nearly half a year, waiting for my return to get my consent, notwithstanding the presence of another maternal uncle who had raised no objections to the marriage. On the other hand, a father never interferes in a girl's amatory or matrimonial affairs.

Even at present these people adhere to the principle that marriage with a virgin is indissoluble except on grounds of adultery and grave maltreatment. If either spouse indicates an intention to rupture the bond, he has to reckon with the disapproval of fellow-members of all the social units to which he belongs: they will publicly condemn him, send him a hąpín or a professional peacemaker, and bear down upon him until he yields. During a hunting trip a wakõkama had fallen in love with a wanton such as is always likely to accompany an expedition of this sort. On his return he did not wish to go back to his wife. The negotiations consumed several days, then two members of his age class seized him by his arms, dragging him at a trot to his wife's house, while the other classmates followed behind, laid him on the bed beside his wife, and made the two intertwine arms and legs. Thus the affair was settled. I witnessed the scene myself; the culprit's face is unforgettable: he almost died of humiliation and offered not the least resistance.

Similarly Pohl writes of the Põrekamekra:

> Ein solches Ehebündnis ist durchaus unauflöslich, und wenn es einem Indianer einfiele, sich von seinem Weibe zu trennen, was schon einigen in den Sinn kam, besonders wenn die Weiber früh alterten, so widersetzt sich die ganze Gemeinde einem solchen Vorhaben, und alle alten Indianer, deren Autorität von den jüngeren sehr geachtet wird, verhalten den Sträflichen zur Ordnung.[38]

PROHIBITED UNIONS

For the present Indians the principle of moiety exogamy is hardly of consequence any more, but marriage between relatives of the first and second degree in the ascending or descending line is tabooed. When I encountered one instance of cross-cousin marriage while constructing the diagrams illustrating name transference, my informant explained, "Yes, there are human beings as shameless as that!" The union of persons connected by the hąpín bond is likewise prohibited.

SORORATE AND LEVIRATE

I know of not a single case of a widower's marrying his deceased wife's sister, though in at least one instance this would have been easily possible. This is all the more remarkable because of the considerable familiarity permitted toward a wife's sister even from the period of betrothal on, so that I was sometimes in doubt which of the sisters was the wife. In 1930 the Rąmkõ'kamekra had pretty well decided on marrying me to Iromkré as soon as her term of office as vų'tę' would terminate. Since this was not before 1933 I feigned ignorance of their intentions. Iromkré herself was quite sure of the part assigned to her, but as a vų'tę' was obliged to maintain the proper reserve. On the other hand, her greatest pleasure was to throw her sister Kentapí and me together for playful social intercourse, which her mother obviously encouraged. Subsequently, a year before the close of her term, Iromkré married the second commandant of the kapranpotíkama, Kapẽrtuk.

[38] Reise, 2:196.

After the husband's death the widow and her children are shielded from want by her brothers and sisters. A widower normally returns to his mother's house. He is really the one more deserving of pity, especially after decades of wedlock, when he is too old to remarry. Accordingly, two old widowers with adult daughters did not take the trouble to move to their matrilineal home, but for the rest of their lifetime remained with their girls. On the other hand, young widowers who contemplate remarriage leave the house of the deceased a few days after the death even if there should be issue. However, father and children visit each other, the former occasionally bringing the youngsters a gift consisting of victuals and in turn being entertained by them.

When a man moves into his mother-in-law's home, his social position alters only with reference to this new relationship to the inmates of the house and to his age class in so far as he ceases to sleep with the bachelors in the plaza. Otherwise his social activities hardly suffer any change; of the many social units with which he is affiliated only the family takes cognizance of the cleavage between married and single men.

Strictly speaking, a husband cannot be said to "move" from his maternal to his mother-in-law's home; he rather becomes a member of two households simultaneously, and I have always had the impression that he feels the bond with his mother's house as far closer than with his wife's. This is quite natural since the former is indestructible, while the latter may be dissolved any day. For example, a married man continues to turn over part of his game to his mother's household or has his wife do so. Either alone or in the company of his wife he will often spend a part of the day with his mother, who prepares food for both spouses. Usually a man also keeps part of his personal belongings at his mother's—if for no other reason, in order to preserve them from encroachments by his brothers-in-law. Further, as indicated above, a man who falls seriously ill goes back to his mother's, usually with his wife, to remain there till his recovery. If it is at all possible, a Timbira dies at his mother's house, where the corpse is invariably laid out.

At his mother's a man always is respected and decisively influences his sister's children, for whose support he is in part responsible in an emergency. His role in a niece's marriage has been noted; anciently, a nephew was his preordained companion in a raid against enemies and preceded him in an attack.

After the official council session and the subsequent chat in the plaza, that is, about 7:30 P.M., the dignitaries and their male auditors by no means depart straightaway to their wives, each rather regularly betaking himself to his matrilineal home, where he is an expected guest at that hour. As soon as he has seated himself there on a bed, his mother, sister, or niece serves him some food that has always been previously prepared for him. Not until he has eaten and uttered his opinion on family affairs does he leave for his wife's home.

MOURNING

Whenever a married Indian goes on a protracted journey—say, a begging jaunt to one of the coastal state capitals—his wife goes into a mourner's seclusion until his return. This retreat differs from that customary after a death only through the lack of lamentation and its possibly much greater duration. The woman ceases to cut her hair and to paint herself, puts on no decorative object, does not appear publicly, holds conversation only with her house mates, and rarely leaves her platform bed. Kentapí thus mourned over her absent husband from the beginning of August, 1930, until the beginning of April, 1931. Snr. Marcellino Miranda, the

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a war chief, haprãra, specially chosen by the council from among the experienced braves, several of whom usually accompanied the expedition and without whose advice the age-class leaders would not take any steps.

By way of avenging a kinsman's death a single man might lie in ambush near the enemy's paths and water supply; or maternal uncle and nephew would unite in this way.

According to a Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition a woman whose son had gained a warrior's status sent him out to fetch the skeletal remains of her brother, whom the Neobrazilians had killed near a settlement. She gave an exact description of the site, which was at the foot of a big tree, in the center of a little wooded island by the headwaters of a certain brook. The youth set out alone and found the bones at the spot indicated. He collected them, packed them up, and carried them to a mountain halfway from his home. There he laid them down, as well as his provender and everything he was able to spare, then he once more went back to the settlement, carrying only his weapons. Here he lay in ambush not far from the houses, near a road with many footprints. He waited for a long time, then two men with rifles came past, whom he followed. After a while one of them lingered behind to ease himself, and the youth utilized this opportunity to lay him low with a club. The companion heard the noise, turned back, and cocked the trigger when he caught sight of the Indian, but before he could shoot the young man had killed him too. Then he picked up the rifles and fled, for the inmates of the houses had taken cognizance of the incident and immediately gave pursuit. He ran all day, but his pursuers would not give up, so that at last his strength was exhausted. With a final exertion he climbed the mountain where he had left his uncle's bones. He was unable to move farther and prepared to fight. From his height he saw his pursuers arriving at the foot of the cliff, but they were even more fatigued than himself, hence unable to ascend the mountain. Accordingly, after a rest they turned back. The warrior recovered the bag with the remains, also his baggage, and returned to his village, where he put down the two rifles in the plaza before the chiefs and elders. The trigger of one of them was still cocked, for at that time these Indians did not yet understand how to release it.

Weapons.—The principal weapon was the club, that is, especially the two-edged sword club (pl. 8), which terminates in a hefty, long point so that it serves equally for thrusting and striking. Sometimes it was also thrown short distances, as stated by Pohl for the Põrekamekra. The Rąmkõ'kamekra had special throwing clubs with a head set off from the rest of the weapon in the form of a short cylinder.

A few remarks may be offered as to the anchor ax, kạ'ire (Pụkóbye: kạ'hire; Kre' pụ'mkateye: kạyé). According to Pohl, the Põrekamekra used it both as a badge of office and a weapon:

> Als Abzeichen ihrer Würde trugen der Kapitão und dessen Unterführer ein eigen geformtes Beil aus Granit unter den Achseln. Dieses Beil, halbmondförmig geschliffen, 7 Zoll lang, ist an einem kurzen Stiel von 10 Zoll Länge befestigt, von welchem rotgefärbte Baumwollschnüre herabhängen. An beyden Enden dieses Stieles ist ein dünnes Band befestigt, vermöge welchem das Beil auf der Achsel festgehalten wird. Es gelang mir nur mit vieler Mühe durch Vermittlung Carvalhos und gegen Erstattung eines Gegengeschenkes, aus mehreren Messern bestehend, ein solches Beil zu erhalten. Sie gaben sie sehr ungern weg, da ihre Verfertigung sehr mühsam ist. Im Kriege wissen sie dieses Beil mit besonderer Gewandtheit zu führen und es hat die Bestimmung, vorzugsweise den Feinden die Köpfe zu spalten.

Among the Eastern Timbira the anchor ax is—at least nowadays—far rarer than among the Apinayé, whose small ceremonial form is wholly lacking. I have seen only a specimen apiece among the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the Apą'nyekra and have re-